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WISCONSIN STATE COLLEGE
RIVER FALLS, WISCONSIN

KENNEDY: *Adlai's Irish Rose* .....(275)

DIXIE: *With LBJ all the way* .....(276)

CUBA: *Our Latin line is still soft* .....(277)

FRISCO RIOTS: *Reds caught on film* .....(277)

WORLD COURT: *Connally repealers active* (278)

Image of Kennedy: As the delegates gather in L.A.'s Sports Arena, not a few look beyond such labels as "immature" or "young, but experienced" and perceive one hallmark about which there's less controversy. The young Senator has indicated pretty clearly that, if nominated and elected, he will have Stevenson as Secretary of State—Adlai the Appeaser.

There's no doubt that former President Truman handed the Republicans a sure-fire battle cry when he widely propagated his opinion of the Massachusetts man as immature and lacking in sufficient experience. But the Senator, in seeking to rebut Truman's appraisal of him, clumsily blurted out his plans for Adlai. No, he said, in answer to a TV quiz question, I have made no commitments to anyone for cabinet posts. But, then, he reiterated—in answer to another—that he has said that any Democratic candidate would have Adlai Stevenson as Secretary of State. So Kennedy has made a public commitment to Adlai.

The spectre of the arch-appeaser in American politics slated to run US foreign policy looms as even more damaging to a candidate for the Presidency than the image of "inexperience" and "immaturity." Since Nixon is openly opposed by Khrushchev and Stevenson has been openly endorsed by the arrogant Soviet dictator, Democratic pros obviously have cause for worry. Nixon can scarcely fail to exploit such a Democratic liability.

Hence, behind the oratory in the Sports Arena, there prevail some less sanguine considerations. That Kennedy TV broadcast, designed to dispel Truman's estimate of the young man, showed the latter as, for the most part, a skillful fencer with the press. But memories of boo-boos, other than that about Adlai, linger. For instance—Abraham Lincoln is reverenced by Democrats as well as Republicans. Yet, when Kennedy sketched a parallel between himself and the Great Liberator, many gagged. Lincoln was a mature man of 50—not an untested young Senator of 43—when he took up his Presidential power, and had been fighting slavery for 20 years. In general, Kennedy's rundown on history seemed "sophomoric."

The gathering forces behind the Massachusetts man are already identifiable as the Socialistic ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), the left-wing Liberal party of New York, labor leaders (with Walter Reuther in the wings). All these elements rally to Kennedy as a pliable tool in a projected course of appeasement of Russia, wilder spending, bigger bureaucracy, fiscal frailty, expansion of the labor union monopoly and a socialistic America.

In contrast, Senator Lyndon Johnson's stance makes the Tall Texan (whose past record is that of a 100% New Dealer) seem almost a conservative. One of his verbal campaign thrusts has set Democratic circles agog: his repudiation of the Americans for Democratic Action. Not a few Democrats, even those scarcely to be classed as Jeffersonian, responded favorably to that.

In Washington, one sybilline utterance of the crafty Johnson—showing him to be a very experienced Senator—did not go unnoticed. Lyndon dodged a question as to whether he believed the US should help defend Quemoy and the Matsus, off Formosa. He said—with careful correctness—that that was the responsibility of the President. For, as a result of the Congressional Resolution of 1955, that is where the responsibility lies—and Lyndon and the Democratic leaders supported the resolution. This matter may come up in the fall, if and when the Reds decide to test out American firmness off the coast of China. Lyndon is obviously prepared to support Ike, if he decides to help Chiang repulse an attack on Quemoy and the Matsus.

But it remains for Lyndon Johnson, in his complicated, eleventh-hour candidate performance, to face the real music. In his quest for delegates, he has had to cultivate those attached to Adlai. How will he handle the question: "Would you have Stevenson as Secretary of State?"

Communists Over Newport: Communist infiltration and planning were behind the sensational riots in Newport, R. I., during the jazz festival in that center of American society last week, according to Red investigators of the US Government. It is true—say these probers—that no political issue was involved, but the Communist role is characteristic of Moscow's pattern in all sorts of civil disturbances all over the world, particularly when students are involved. Some student leaders actually do not realize they have been manipulated by Moscow.

In Newport, students from Boston played a big part in the disorders and it is reported that Communist infiltration has gone far in some of the institutions of higher learning in the Boston metropolitan area. Although no political issue precipitated the Newport riot, the Communist directors reportedly want as many outbreaks by students as

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possible, no matter what the excuse may be. In short, a snow balling of student uprisings.

Prominent in the minds of US Government agents who deal with subversives is the memory of the recent riots staged against the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco (see "Frisco Riots," page 277) which bore the trademark of "made in Moscow" and skillful Communist direction of students. The same goes for the anti-racist sit-ins in the South and border states in which students play a big role. And all such disorders bear the same stigmata as the student manifestations in Korea, Turkey and Japan: they are related to and, indeed, correlated by the same Red GHQ.

Finally, these informed sources say, some of the Nazi or anti-semitic demonstrations in this country have received help from the Reds; although some of the bigots (just as some student group leaders) at the head of such outbreaks remain unaware of the fact. The ranks of such elements—formerly obscure and little noticed—have been infiltrated recently by Communist agents; once the Reds got in, the demonstrations assumed such an aggressive character that they reached the front pages of the newspapers.

This, too, is not altogether surprising to experts on Red manipulation, for last winter the anti-semitic disorders in Europe, especially in Germany, were traced to Communist instigation.

As Capital experts see it: Never has the Communist fifth column around the world been so aggressive nor so cleverly directed since the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917. If the snow balling of such Red "jobs" as those in San Francisco and Newport continues, the Communist fifth-column problem may well take a major place in the coming American election.

Design of Dixie: "We will vote for Johnson until they turn out the lights in the convention hall"—so said wheel-horses in the Virginia Democratic delegation to staff members of HUMAN EVENTS, as the delegation left for Los Angeles. The attitude of the rest of the South—canvass among Southern delegations in an L.A. hotel discloses—is of the same pattern.

Not that the Southerners are gullible idolators of Lyndon (they know him for what he really is). But they are determined to back him, and to take nobody else; not Kennedy or any of the visible dark horses. And, although they don't say it, Southern delegates mean they won't—in the manner of many conventions in the past—join in making final nomination of, say, Kennedy unanimous. "They'll vote for Johnson until the lights go out."

Actually, the Southerners have no plan *per se* for action at the convention. Veteran observers (wary of predicting a "Southern bolt" *per se*, from long experience in previous convention years) realize that. One of them said, "It's not a plan. It's community of emotion." But unemotionally, they are determined to back Johnson to the end; and to maintain the facade of party regularity. Wary of possible surprise moves by anti-Southern Chairman Paul Butler, they seek to maintain this surface regularity, despite any further affronts from Butler.

What would they do if the Dixie men don't get Johnson? Observers discuss the probability, in such a case, of a "walk" by the Southerners. Should Johnson be defeated and Kennedy win, there may well follow a period of weeks of anguishing reconsideration of Southern strategy for the election campaign. Although most Southern politicos remain tight-lipped on the subject, those who know Southern political considerations claim that sentiment for a real bolt and an attempt to steer the Presidential election into the House of Representatives, via the "independent slates of electors" route, figure importantly in Southern political minds.

Candidates' Health: The physical condition of candidates popped up in the current nomination melee last week, when Johnson's well-known 1955 heart attack was mentioned and hitherto largely unknown facts about Kennedy's condition appeared. Newspaper columnist Raymond Moley said: "On the record, it was Kennedy who provoked the counter-attack against himself," by raising the question of health of Presidents. Then friends of Johnson charged that Kennedy for years has suffered from Addison's Disease, a disorder of the suprarenal glands. The fact that the young Senator suffered from Addison's Disease was revealed to the editor of HUMAN EVENTS five years ago, when a local physician remarked:

"Any doctor can tell at a distance that Kennedy has Addison's Disease. One of the evidences of the trouble is a certain bronze pigmentation of the skin, which is conspicuous in Kennedy's case."

It is true that Addison's Disease, once fatal soon after it developed, now has been brought under control, largely by cortisone. However, to say that Kennedy is "cured" or just as healthy as if he didn't have it because cortisone controls it—that, physicians tell us, is going too far. "Wonder drugs" (like cortisone) can control many diseases formerly hopeless—although few "cure" them; but invariably at the cost of side effects which often hamper the activities of patients. Cortisone, physicians inform us, is very effective on many Addison's Disease patients, but often with side effects which prevent the patient from living exactly in normal health and comfort.

Capitol Camera: Lyndon Johnson played it "coy," when asked if he would consider taking the VP place on the ticket. Those who asked him in Washington swear that he would never accept the No. 2 spot—he'd prefer remaining Senate Majority Leader. Why his "coyness?" Seers say: he hopes Kennedy would settle for being his Vice Presidential partner on the ticket. If Lyndon had said a firm "no" to the question, then it might make it harder to convince Kennedy he should take No. 2.

• If the Los Angeles convention reaches a deadlock phase, don't be surprised if the bosses bring

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forth the darkest of dark horses for the nomination —Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut.

• Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, although a delegate, did not go to Los Angeles. However, it is reported he will be "near a telephone." The Virginia delegation—key to much of the South—will look to him for advice when the going gets hot. If those delegates return to Virginia disgusted with the outcome of L.A., then they can reconvene the state convention and nominate Byrd as their Presidential candidate. It's the law in Virginia.

• What's the reaction of General Douglas MacArthur to the race? George Dixon, in his *Washington Scene* syndicated column, relates a recent interview with the General. Anent Kennedy and his war record, mention was made of Jack's command of an LST, rammed by a Jap destroyer, and how he rescued a machinist's mate. MacArthur, says Dixon, "remembered he had had the incident looked into at the time and concluded Lt. Kennedy should have gotten out of the way ahead of the ramming."

• The National Council of Churches has asked the Democratic Platform Committee to repeal the immigration quota system, promote birth control, and restrict the investigating powers of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

• Congressman Daniel J. Flood (D.-Pa.) has warned the State Department not to allow the Panama flag to fly over the US-owned Canal Zone. If allowed, Flood said, proceedings will be brought against Herter asking for his resignation.

Cuba: As clouds darken over our neighbor and the sugar quota bludgeon is wielded, still no definite assurance appears in the Capital that the weak-kneed State Department's Latin-American division has any plans to push for a hard-boiled policy against Castro. Much talk circulates about rallying other friendly Latin American nations to joint action against the Red menace of the Castro regime. But inside reports do not indicate that the timorous Roy Rubottom (who shapes our policy south of the border) will do anything decisive.

However, among many in the Capital, particularly those who have served the US in the Caribbean and South America, no little emphasis is being placed on one true and tried friend we have in the Caribbean—President Luis Somoza of Nicaragua.

It was Luis Somoza's tough, dictatorial father "Tancho" Somoza who, as Nicaraguan President, seized the nettle when Communist puppet President Arbenz of Guatemala arose in 1954. Somoza provided arms and a base for anti-Communist patriot Castillo Armas who invaded Guatemala and overthrew Arbenz.

Luis Somoza, like his father, is strongly anti-Communist, but unlike the old man, is not a dictator. He runs Nicaragua as a representative democracy, with free speech and free press; and he hasn't made it a "family regime" as his father did. Democratic anti-Communist Nicaragua looms as a bastion on which an anti-Castro coalition could be built. Credit for helping and guiding Luis Somoza in his course is given to the able US Ambassador Thomas E. Whelan.

Frisco Riots: The House Committee on Un-American Activities has released a 45-minute film on the Communist-led student riots at the committee's recent San Francisco hearings. Taken from reels of two local TV stations, the camera catches known hard-core Communists leading students in songs, anti-committee slogans, and other measures calculated to disrupt the hearings. The film is available to organizations through the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Washington Building, Washington, D. C.

Capitol Hill veterans recall that disturbances before the HUAC are nothing new, and that the patroness of early anti-committee outbursts was Eleanor Roosevelt. Reported John T. Flynn in *The Roosevelt Myth*: "When the Un-American Activities Committee was investigating the American Youth Congress, a crowd of adolescent pinks marched into the committee room. They were headed by the wife of the President of the United States, and there they put on a three-ring circus, hopping about, distributing pamphlets . . . . When the show was over, Mrs. Roosevelt led all of her young guests into two White House cars and carted them back to the White House for entertainment."

Cross-Ups in Our Foreign Policy: Legislators, as they left Washington for the recess last week, remained disgruntled with congressional failure to get to the bottom of contradictions in our foreign and military policies. Many blame the Central Intelligence Agency. (Some Republicans say the CIA, like the State Department, has many hold-overs from the days of Truman and has never been cleaned out.)

Giving point to this matter, a column by "liberal" Drew Pearson made charges which at least raise a question as to whether one hand of the Government knows what the other is doing. The charges involve Professor Galindez, who mysteriously vanished four years ago and whose disappearance was attributed, in the "liberal" press, to work of agents of the Dominican Government. Pearson says that Galindez was employed by the CIA and received approximately $1 million to operate an underground in Spain for the purpose of overthrowing Franco.

Inasmuch as the US has made Spain one of the bastions of our defense in Europe and has poured millions into building up its military strength and creating bases for our planes there, military circles in Washington have been astonished by the Pearson story. The conclusion is that the Army, Air and Naval intelligence systems do not get collaboration from the Central Intelligence Agency.

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER, US Representative, (R.-Fla.): "I find HUMAN EVENTS a most forthright and constructive coverage of matters affecting the national welfare, which is most helpful to me as a Member of Congress who is dedicated to legislating on the basis of serving the best interests of the people of our Nation."

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Additionally, it is reported that, over the protests of the Defense Department, the Commerce Department has issued licenses for the export of a certain type of machine tool—a precision grinder, essential to the making of missiles and arms—to be sold to Soviet Russia. The Commerce Department reportedly received a recommendation from the CIA to the effect that this type of grinder is already available behind the Iron Curtain and therefore is not a "strategic item" (exports of which are forbidden). Yet, in Defense Department circles, it is claimed that Soviet Russia wants very urgently to buy such grinders and that Soviet technical publications do not confirm the "availability" of these grinders behind the Iron Curtain.

Legislators, digesting these reports, take an even more critical attitude towards our Central Intelligence Agency.

Reds: American Communists have received new instructions to infiltrate and take over "liberal," non-Communist "church and peace groups." The instructions have come from US Commissar Gus Hall in a secret "Memorandum of the National Secretariat to All State Organizations and All National Committee Members."

Hall spells out infiltration activities for such organizations as the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and other left-wing pacifist groups. In language reminiscent of the old popular front days, Hall instructs US Reds to revive the working alliance of domestic Communists and unsuspecting "liberals."

He writes: "Individual leading comrades on every level must arrange personal discussions with leading left-progressive peace forces. This is to be done with individuals where advisable and with groups where possible. This should be utilized for an exchange of opinion and discussion of the problems and their working out a common approach and a common action. The opportunities make possible—in some cases joint action; in others, support to particular left peace groups, which would also help to strengthen these forces, who together with us can be a vital influence in the peace movement."

Party Boss Hall also orders US Reds to infiltrate both major political parties.

Comrades must organize "mass movements on a grass-roots level to influence the choice of national and local candidates.

"This requires further that initiative be taken now. It will mean activities which call on the President and Congress to continue negotiations leading to the banning of the H-Bomb and for disarmament."

Connally Clause: Although Hubert Humphrey's proposal to repeal the Connally Amendment met a quiet death in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this year, the campaign to abolish the clause and give compulsory jurisdiction over the United States to the World Court still bubbles with life.

Before the Senate and scheduled for a vote in August is "Executive N" which would give the World Court compulsory jurisdiction over the United States in maritime disputes which the Court decides are international in character. (See HUMAN EVENTS, June 30.) Patriotic groups opposed to repeal are now trying to prevent a possible blitz during the short session.

And in New York, recently, the Committee for the Effective Use of the World Court was formed, declaring war on the Connally amendment. Its honorary chairman is Judge Learned Hand, whose committee will ask both party platforms to include a plank calling for repeal of the Connally clause.

The pro-World Courters are now leaning heavily on the argument that 38 nations have already accepted compulsory jurisdiction. Most of these countries, however, can withdraw immediately upon notice. And even with the Connally clause, the United States must give six months notice before it can withdraw from the Court's jurisdiction.

But those who place reliance on the World Court to solve global problems should consult the new book by "liberal" Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, *Frankfurter Reminisces.*

Commenting on the Court, Frankfurter says: "[Elihu] Root was the begetter of the World Court, and there was the constant pressure on the part of the goody goodies in the United States to join it, as though the World Court had much relation to peace maintenance. The issues that are justiciable between nations are very limited . . . . "

Morse: The Administration has quietly named Oregon's erratic, ill-tempered Senator Wayne Morse as delegate to the forthcoming session of the UN General Assembly. What is bitterly ironic is that Morse is the Administration's most vocal and most persistent foreign policy critic in the entire Senate.

Just three weeks ago, for instance, Morse told the Senate that the US policies of defense for Japan would "inevitably" lead to war. The Oregon Senator deserted the President at the time of the summit, joining with Khrushchev to term the U-2 intelligence flights "aggression" against the USSR.

Morse is proud of the fact that he constantly fought the "hard" policies of the late John Foster Dulles. Morse led the fight against the Formosa Doctrine in 1955, and now wants to make Nationalist China a "United Nations trusteeship, because in my judgment Formosa is one of the great potential threats to the peace of the world."

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Businessmen in Politics

By Charles W. White

FOR MORE THAN A YEAR, now, we've been hearing and reading abut this business of the businessman in politics; seldom, in fact, has there been such a coast-to-coast fuss and nodding of wise heads at Rotary and Kiwanis as was developed last year over this subject.

In typical speeches and brochures it was pointed out that businessmen have too long considered themselves "above" politics. Somewhere along the line—or perhaps between the lines—it would be pointed out that our labor unions have become skilled, effective political organizations able to swamp conservative elements at the polls, and that those who wear the gray flannel suit must catch up or be submerged. To an important and, I believe, somewhat questionable extent, several broad assumptions were read into this politico-intellectual movement. From some experience in the matter, both as a political writer and active participant in grass-roots politics, I believe I can identify a few of these assumptions which, it seems to me, we might do well to reconsider before taking off again in the 1960 elections.

1. It was assumed that corporations, executives, business owners and managers—"the business community," let us say—have *not* participated in politics all along. Maybe they haven't as much as they might. Nevertheless, year after year at finance meetings, planning sessions, and during the headquarters and precinct work itself in the heat of a campaign, I've seen plenty of businessmen around, doing their part and speaking up vigorously. While this observation has been made principally in Republican circles, I might point out that several of the real leaders in Indiana politics on the Democratic side are businessmen. I could name one outstanding banker, a wealthy corporation lawyer, and so on.

Our senior Indiana Senator, Homer E. Capehart, who regards himself as a conservative, happens to be a highly successful manufacturer. A believer in a balanced budget, Senator Capehart has at least a middle-of-the road voting record in Congress.

I have privately wondered, at times, what a working businessman and politician like Senator Capehart thought as he listened to all those Johnny-come-lately diatribes about businessmen in politics.

2. It has been assumed among the public relations department organizers of hundreds of businessmen-in-politics campaigns that all corporations and all corporate executives are suited by experience, ability, and emotional makeup for participation in rough-and-tumble politics. For the answer to that one, you need only ask—if he'll talk off the record—some veteran County Chairman who has been forced to put up with some of these bright lads. Few corporate political campaigns have ever touched upon the obvious fact that there are businessmen, who, outside of the voting booth, should never be allowed near a polling place.

3. There has also been an assumption that the laboring man and the "liberals" constitute an ironclad group, mostly pawns of the Auto Workers, Teamsters, and so on; and thus the corporate political effort can be directed effectively toward "getting them over on our side." In this, it seems to me, it has been forgotten that as to many issues we are already basically *on the same side*, regardless of party affiliation. For example, I know quite a few members of the Auto Workers, but none who would vote for weakening of US defenses, or for outright inflation.

One corporation executive who has been active in Republican politics for a long time told me recently, for instance, that more and more men on the assembly line say they want the company, believe it or not, actually to make money. "They know we're all in this together," he pointed out. Does the present effort to get more businessmen interested in politics take full advantage of this fact? Or are we assuming too glibly that they're all against us?

THE ABOVE are only a few contrary ideas that might be kicked around at the next after-hours panel in the company cafeteria. I pass the possibility that a businessman's best contribution to his party and to his country might be to do his own job the best he can and make all the money he can for himself and for his company—and incidentally, for the boys out in the back shop. Such a reservation would be right out of John Stuart Mill and too stodgy by far for our livewire discussion leaders.

It may be more productive, however, to consider what businessmen can and should do for politics, once they've decided to jump in.

Here we run into a serious problem at the outset. I have before me a raft of literature promulgated by various companies and their associations, telling how the job ought to be done. With a few exceptions, they make a convincing pitch for business activity in politics. These are professional communicators, advertising men and publicists who know how to organize ideas and get them across. The trouble is that, after heating up the Young Man Going Places anent his duty to vote, to become active, to be a laborer in the political vineyard, if not a wheel, they carefully point out that he should work in "the party of his choice," Republican or Democratic. Or maybe Socialist. He's to hang his clothes on the hickory limb, but nobody cares or dares to tell him where the water is. Is this implied? Maybe so—maybe it's one of those things you just can't say right out in a meeting. If that's the idea, though, it might be called to the corporate policy-maker's attention that his competition, the labor-liberals, don't do it that way.

THE OTHER DAY, for example, I was talking with an Indiana lawyer who is a conservative Republican and works at it on the precinct level every election, rain or shine. (Lawyers, unlike doctors and heads of sales departments, rarely make any bones about where they stand, politically. They like to be identified.)

"We got beat last time and we're going to get beat again," he said, speaking for an industrial city of some 60,000 population. "You see, we Republicans haven't got any organization, except the regular county committee, mostly political jobholders or job seekers. The Democrats, though, have got the AFL-CIO, and those boys really work. Last election, they had fellows checking off the workers at every factory gate, all day on election day. When a man came out of the gate, they'd ask him if he'd voted yet, and if he hadn't, they'd see to it that he was hauled to the polls. They'd send cars to pick up his wife, too, and his uncle, and other members of the family."

In a similar vein, a Republican leader in Indianapolis said, "We have to provide our own cars, and pay our own workers. The unions don't make direct contributions of money to the Democrats, but they provide the cars and the people and the telephone crews. That's the same as money; in fact it's better!"

This is the practical problem all Republican organizations in the North and conservative Democrats in the South have been up against for years, and it's what they'll have to deal with this year. The point that suggests itself, then, might be: if a corporation or an individual businessman decides to participate in politics, to jump into the water, how much of a splash will result from all this super-altruistic "party-of-your-choice" claptrap? Is there anything wrong, actually, with standing up and being counted on one side or another? Our political history—the Taft campaigns in Ohio, for instance—would indicate the opposite.

Sincerely conservative opinion, courageously and skillfully presented, will be given a hearing among all classes—provided it is presented ably and skillfully. Our great corporate entity does have the skills of the men in possession of facts. This asset should be used, it seems to me, and used frankly to support our free enterprise system.

Otherwise, why bother?

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Vol. XVII, No. 28 — Section IV HUMAN EVENTS July 14, 1960

McGovern vs. Mundt: Key Senate Race

WISCONSIN STATE COLLEGE RIVER FALLS, WISCONSIN

By EDNA LONIGAN

In North Dakota, Republican Governor John E. Davis lost in a special Senate election to Quentin N. Burdick, extreme "liberal," by *less than half-a-vote per precinct.* Just a little more activity by conservatives and Davis would have won!

IT IS A TRUISM of American politics that contests for the Senate and the House of Representatives are "local" contests. That "truism" is not true and never has been true.

An interesting example of how national issues affect congressional elections is the contest for Senator in South Dakota this year. The Republicans have renominated Karl E. Mundt, who is completing his second term in the Senate. Formerly a Member of the House, Mundt served on the Committee on Un-American Activities and was active in the Hiss investigation. He helped draft the laws against internal subversion. Mundt supported Senator Joe McCarthy in his investigation of communism in the State Department and the Armed Forces. His record on communism alone makes Mundt's election a national issue.

Against Mundt, the Democrats have nominated George McGovern, a former college teacher, now completing his second term in the House. Congressman McGovern is actively supported by ADA and COPE. His legislative program and public statements fit their "line" precisely.

South Dakota is a farm state. Most of the farmers own their farms, in whole or in part. The district which George McGovern now represents, Eastern South Dakota, is the second richest farm district in the United States. Its people are still close to the pioneer tradition.

How does it happen that such a district in such a state is represented in Congress by a man who has 100 per cent approval from militant left-wing groups?

McGovern was born in South Dakota in 1922, and was graduated from Dakota Wesleyan University. He received a Ph.D. from Northwestern, and returned in 1950 to teach history and government at his alma mater. In 1955 he left college teaching and, though he had denounced both parties, became executive secretary of the South Dakota Democratic party. After three years as a political organizer, he was elected to the House.

Is Representative McGovern a new type of young American, raising the intellectual level of politics, with an academic education good enough for college teaching? Or is he, rather, a new type of left-wing spokesman, whose academic robes are meant to hide his kinship with the old familiar types of CIO-PAC candidates?

Americans for Democratic Action is an ultra-"liberal" organization, formerly headed by Hubert Humphrey, which ceaselessly advocates more spending and stronger central government controls. In its "Voting Record" of October, 1959, ADA used nine bills as a test of which Congressmen it was recommending to the voters. Five of the bills were for bigger spending. ADA favored these measures. Three were concerned with defending the Nation against communism. ADA opposed these bills. One limited the political power of the labor unions. ADA was opposed. McGovern received a "plus" from ADA for his stand on all nine issues.

In 1959 this Congressman from conservative South Dakota voted for every proposal to increase Government spending, every move to prevent restraints on inflation and to increase Government intervention in private affairs. He voted against every important attempt to restrain communism.

In 1958 McGovern also voted against every bill which would have limited inflation—with one curious exception. He opposed construction in American shipyards of two super-liners. McGovern voted in favor of Presidential authority to give secret information on atomic weapons to "any nation" (including the USSR?) if the President decided it would "improve" their weapons design.

ON THREE OCCASIONS he voted against legislation to undo Supreme Court decisions—the Mallory case, the Steve Nelson case limiting the right of states to fight subversion, and the decision barring dismissal of Communists in "non-sensitive" positions.

In 1957 McGovern was for spending all the way. He was one of many who voted against protecting FBI records from inspection by those accused of communism, except by specific court order. Twice he opposed authority for the Atomic Energy Commission, once to work on small weapons, and another time to work in cooperation with private agencies. Each was vital for American defense.

It is difficult to believe that one of the wealthiest farm areas in the Middle West wants its Representative to vote for greater centralism, unlimited spending, and soft handling of Communists. The voters must know that if the Government increases its spending, the second-richest farm district in the country will pay an extra large share of the bill.

McGovern's legislative program includes more left-wing extremism. When the 85th Congress opened, a group of like-minded Congressmen submitted, on January 30, 1957, a memorial to Congress with a program of "liberal" measures, which were designed to carry out the "mandate" they announced they had received in the election of 1956. McGovern, a newcomer, was one of the signers.

Among the welfare-state proposals which McGovern endorsed were:

Increases in Federal aid in education, health, housing (where spending is already at record heights);

Increases in Social Security (where inadequate reserves for present commitments are already dangerous);

Expansion of foreign aid;

Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act;

Bringing more workers under the minimum wage law; increase in minimum wages; and

Expansion of Federal programs in the field of public power.

McGovern and his colleagues didn't even overlook the taxpayers—these legislative "experts" called for a reduction of the income tax. What they omitted, of course, was an explanation of where the money would come from, to "give" the people this glittering array of welfare-state offerings.

McGovern's public statements and his correspondence are, like his voting record, replete with evidence of his left-wing leanings.

He is one of 20 Democrats in the House who are plugging for a complicated farm program known as the Poage Bill. McGovern and the others describe this bill as designed to preserve the family farm, the foundation of American agriculture. The words "family farm" have been taken over as a slogan in radical circles, covering strange programs in farm aid, just as the slogan "peace" covers strange diplomatic policies. The Poage Bill is, in fact, the current version of the discredited Brannan Plan. Experienced farm experts say its real effect would be to place the American farmer permanently in bondage to the Federal Government, and end in "permits, payments, penalties and peasantry."

Livestock producers, wheat and dairy farmers are reacting strongly against the Poage Bill, while responsible members of Congress from Southern Agricultural areas refuse to touch the proposal with a ten-foot-pole.

McGovern, in his haste to present himself as a farm statesman, had to offer changes in parts of his bill before Committee consideration even started!

Within a few weeks after sponsoring this farm bill, McGovern offered an amendment, explaining that he wished to exempt milk producers. He has indicated a willingness to scrap the Brannan Plan proposals on wheat. The House Agriculture Committee, of which he is a member, is also veering away from its extreme proposals.

Further insight into the Congressman's efforts to be a leader in Congress is shown in his wildlife proposals.

In a bid to obtain sportsmen's support, he introduced a measure to establish a research program for improvement of fishing in man-made reservoirs, of which South Dakota has several, along the Missouri River.

However, the Congressman failed to

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do his home work. (It was not the first time.) The Bureau of Sports Fisheries pointed out that the legislative authority in McGovern's bill had already been provided in the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956 and the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act as amended in 1951. In the last year alone, 69 reservoir rerearch projects in 33 states (including South Dakota) had received support in the amount of $1,700,000. The Bureau urged Congress not to disrupt the existing program by legislation proposing to "authorize" what had been successfully under way for four years!

MCGOVERN'S "IMAGE" in South Dakota has been quite different from his record in Congress. When he first ran for Congress in 1956, he built up the "image" of a Jeffersonian Democrat. He sounded like a typical South Dakota conservative.

This image persisted through the 1958 campaign, when he defeated popular Joe Foss, the Marine flying ace who served two terms as South Dakota Governor.

Farm belt discontent helped McGovern's 1958 victory. He picked up many Republican voters from South Dakota who did not detect his bias in favor of ADA and COPE, or the lavish praise these organizations had heaped on him.

McGovern has always had the blessing of Senator Hubert Humphrey, one of the country's militant advocates of the program of ADA and COPE. The South Dakota Congressman repaid his obligations by helping push Senator Humphrey's extremist program on the House side. Twenty-six of the bills and resolutions McGovern introduced during the 85th Congress and the first session of the 86th Congress are identical with those introduced by Humphrey in the Senate.

Until this past year McGovern was careful not to let his association with Humphrey appear too clearly on his home grounds. Since the 1958 elections he feels his state can be led all the way down the left-wing road under the Democratic-Farmer-Labor combine so powerful in Minnesota.

McGovern organized a group of Congressmen to support Humphrey's candidacy for President. In South Dakota he campaigned for a convention slate pledged to the talkative Minnesotan. He convinced the Governor of South Dakota, Ralph Herseth, the first Democrat to be elected Governor in 22 years, that he should toss in with the Humphrey movement.

Herseth, who was elected as a conservative Democrat, joined McGovern in the drive to name a Humphrey slate to the National Democratic Convention and freeze out other Presidential hopefuls in the state.

McGovern's consistent leftism, recognized from the first by Capitol Hill experts, is now becoming clear at home. South Dakotans are protesting against the Budget-busting, spending, pie-in-the-sky philosophy to which he has so strongly attached himself.

He is catching heat from the grass roots on the Forand Bill. This bill seems to help the aged who need medical care, but it would, in fact, open the door to socialized medicine, at a horrendous cost to those who pay Social Security taxes. The AFL-CIO, ADA, and similar pressure groups are beating the propaganda drums to get the measure passed. But the bill is not popular in South Dakota.

McGovern is on the spot on another measure, the Landrum-Griffin Labor Reform Bill, which passed Congress last year, in spite of the bitter fight against it by COPE.

In the congressional tussle on this bill, McGovern managed to put himself on both sides of the fence. He voted against the Landrum-Griffin Bill on the key 229-201 *roll call which decided whether or not the bill would pass the House. The following day he joined the majority by voting for the bill on final passage, a mere formality because the fight was over.*

THE PEOPLE of South Dakota were willing to believe McGovern's claim that he was not a "tool of the labor bosses," despite the generous campaign funds he had received from COPE and other union political action groups. However, his vote against Landrum-Griffin revealed for the first time to South Dakota exactly where he stood.

McGovern attempted to blur his labor record at home, but his allies tripped him up. While he was issuing statements that he had voted for strong controls on labor's political action, Jim Carey spoiled his act.

Carey, head of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, wrote a famous letter to Congress in which he praised the the 201 Members who voted against the Landrum-Griffin Bill and threatened political extinction for the 229 Congressmen who had dared vote for restraints on labor's political leaders. McGovern was listed among those whom COPE and its allies would go all out to re-elect.

One union newspaper after another informed its readers of the names of those who had voted "right"—against Landrum-Griffin and those who voted "wrong"—for Landrum-Griffin. And McGovern's name was always listed with those whom COPE was determined to keep in Congress.

The men who head the unions' political action groups argued that the new legislation was hostile to real unionism, but their argument has not impressed union members.

The influence of the left-wing pressure blocs on McGovern's thinking is reflected again in his opposition to the loyalty oath established by Congress for those who receive Federal loans for college expenses.

McGovern has made evident his belief in the "one world" philosophy. So it is reasonable to assume he would support repeal of the Connally Amendment and submit American domestic interests to decisions by a World Court, bound by no ties to the principles of Anglo-Saxon law. His political godfather, Hubert Humphrey, offered the resolution in the Senate to repeal the Connally reservation, which safeguards our national interests. As a Member of the House, McGovern did not have to commit himself on this issue, because it is a Senate matter. But as a candidate for the Senate, his views are most important. His faithful adherence to Senator Humphrey, who so faithfully adheres to the ADA and COPE, means that a vote for McGovern would put the State of South Dakota behind Humphrey's all-out drive for world government.

We have seen that the ADA and COPE reciprocate Congressman McGovern's support for their program. On the other hand, the Americans for Constitutional Action, a group of outstanding Americans, has analyzed the voting records of Senators and Congressmen based upon sound moral, economic, and constitutional principles. This comprehensive Index, covering 40 votes for the years 1957 through 1959 in the House, and 77 votes for five years, 1955 through 1959, in the Senate, gives a remarkably accurate picture of how Senators and Congressmen have voted on fundamental issues.

McGovern failed that test miserably. On the over-all ACA Consistency Index, he earned a score of only 8 per cent, out of a possible 100 per cent. His opponent, Karl Mundt, earned a score of 73 per cent, being right 55 times out of 75 votes. This is a relatively high score in support of limited government. On the other hand, Mundt was "wrong" 10 times out of 13 by the left-wing ADA test, which McGovern passed with a perfect score!

Thus the lines are clearly drawn on issues far more serious than those which divide our two parties. South Dakota is making its choice between a candidate who is strongly opposed to the ADA-COPE program and policies, and a challenger who has done everything he could to put the ADA-COPE program into legislative effect.

The campaign in South Dakota is far more than a state contest. The question is whether the ranks of the left-wing bloc in the Congress shall be strengthened by the election of an energetic propagandist for their program, or whether the ranks of constitutional freedom shall be strengthened by the re-election of Mundt, and the retirement of George McGovern to private life.

The same choice appears in the position of both men on what is best for American foreign policy, national defense, and opposition to the militant Communist threat.

In South Dakota, as in so many other contests in the congressional election of 1960, the voters do not have the choice of being neutral. They will make their voices heard in support of limited government, free enterprise and resistance to communism, or they will strengthen the left-wing bloc whose votes in Congress are committed to big spending, a shrinking dollar, centralization of power in the executive branch of government, and a soft and yielding attitude toward the Communist challenge to everything for which we stand.

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'Growth'--the Latest Socialistic Pitch

By FRANK CHODOROV

WISCONSIN STATE COLLEGE
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THE ENERGUMENS OF SOCIALISM—principally, the spokesmen of the Democratic party—have hit upon a new magic word to further their purpose. It is "growth." We can expect to hear it often in the coming Presidential campaign.

The word is used to imply an improvement in our economy. "If you elect us," so runs the litany, "we will see to it that your baby will have more shoes, that you will have an extra car in your garage, a nicer house to live in, and all the things you want." That is what the proponents of "growth" want you to think—especially on Election Day. If you were to ask them how they propose to bring about this heaven-on-earth, they would say, though not so bluntly: by government spending. Spending is the key to "growth," spending of your money, or spending of money printed by the government. It is taken for granted that government spending and an improvement in the economy are synonymous.

How much "growth" do they intend to give us? Well, politicians (and their economists) differ on the amount, but, generally speaking, they are agreed on a minimum of five per cent. (Nelson Rockefeller, when he was openly "running," allowed that six per cent was the right figure.) But, a percentage is a percentage of a given figure, and in this case the figure taken is something called the Gross National Product.

Now, the GNP is one of the most deceiving of all governmental statistics. Though it is widely used as a barometer of the nation's economy, it is only incidentally related to the well-being of the people. It is, briefly, a compilation of all the money spent in the country, spent by the people and spent by the government. It records, among other things, the wages of productive workers and the wages of bureaucrats. Certainly, the wages of the bureaucrat are spent in the market place, just like the wages of the productive worker; but what the bureaucrat spends comes from the wages of the productive worker, and therefore the combined figure is a duplication of real earnings. The combined figure can be compared to the income of a family, thus: if the husband earns $100 a week and pays his wife a wage of $80 for being his housekeeper, then the family income is $180 a week, but if he turns over $80 of his pay merely "for expenses," the family income is only $100. The GNP is as foolish as that.

The GNP includes what the farmer receives from the sale of his crop and what he receives from the government for not growing. It includes what the veteran receives on his job and what he receives in government aid. It includes the cost of servicing the national debt and the taxes levied for this purpose. It includes what the corporations earn and what they pay in taxes. In short, if the government takes 5 cents out of every dollar earned, then the GNP comes to $1.05, but if government takes 33 cents, the national income becomes $1.33. Under this kind of bookkeeping, the GNP can be made whatever the government wants it to be, and "growth" can be made even one hundred per cent by merely upping the taxes, or by printing that amount of money and spending it.

What the government spends on defense is indeed in the interests of the people; but one cannot include this expenditure in any estimate of the national economy. The people do not wear battleships nor eat missiles; these things, though necessary to the security of the nation, have no more bearing on the public welfare than the building of pyramids. They are, economically speaking, sheer waste. Yet, the GNP, which is supposed to tell us how we are getting along in the pursuit of happiness, must include the cost of defense in its estimates.

THE GNP IS DECEPTIVE in other ways. Suppose you bought an automobile in 1932 for $5,000; this price would be recorded in the GNP. But, today you can buy a better automobile for $3,000; the GNP would show a decline, even though you get more mileage and more satisfaction out of your 1960 car. On the other hand, the sandwich which once cost you a dime now sets you back a half dollar, thanks to inflation; the GNP, which records only dollars spent, not satisfactions received, goes up accordingly.

Nor can the GNP take into account the value we put on leisure. To be sure, it records the amount of money we spend on a Florida vacation, but it has no bearing on the joy we obtain from just lolling about or in trimming the garden. A leisure-loving nation might be happier than one given to gathering gimmicks—but the GNP cannot record that happiness.

Therefore, the GNP is an unreliable measurement of the well-being of the people, even though it is intended to be exactly that, and any increase or decrease in the figure may or may not indicate an increase or decrease in human satisfactions. It might be more indicative of how we are getting along if (a) the money spent by the government,

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the tax-burden, were deducted from the total amount of expenditures, and (b) inflation were discounted and the money-expenditures it records were figured in 1932 dollars. But, such bookkeeping, though honest, would be politically inadvisable.

A far more reliable indicator of "growth" (or decline) would be a compilation of the nation's capital investment. That is because capital consists of the tools of production, and since the object of production is consumption, the greater the capital structure of the country the more satisfactions become available, the more will be consumed. It is true that some capital accumulations are used to produce things for the government, and to that extent do not contribute to the general welfare. It would be most difficult to separate capital used to produce things for the market from that used to fulfill government contracts; but, putting that difficulty aside, it can be said that any increase in the capital of a country indicates an increase in the general welfare. If taxes were reduced and the government as a consequence would buy less, any increase in capital accumulations would indeed represent an increase in the production of things people want.

Even leisure is indirectly related to capital. Any increase in the amount of capital tends to make satisfactions cheaper, easier to get, and some people might prefer to use the money thus saved on vacations rather than on accumulating more things. (Of course, if things were cheaper the GNP would fall, and that, contrary to government economists, would be a social advantage.)

Now, the one way to increase the nation's capital structure is to reduce taxes, not only on corporations but on everybody's earnings. A reduction in corporation taxes would induce the directors to plow back some of their increased earnings into expansion. A reduction in personal taxes would increase bank savings, which would be borrowed by entrepreneurs for the purchase of tools, the building of factories, the making of things people want. So that, the real "growth" of the economy would be assured by leaving more money in the hands of the people, to spend some on satisfactions and to save some for investment.

But, the "growth" boys are not urging any decrease in taxes. They are not for any decrease in the national debt, which would make a lowering of our tax burden possible. They ignore the matter of costs altogether, and are bent on appropriating billions for "expansion" of social security (a perennial vote-getter), for more unemployment handouts, for more aid-to-education, for more public housing, and a host of other programs. Since they are not asking for more taxes to meet the additional costs of these programs, the obvious conclusion is that they propose to foot the bills by printing money (or bonds, which become money). That is, by inflation, which is the cruelest and most wicked form of taxation, in that it defrauds the thrifty and depletes the purchasing power of those who depend on fixed incomes for their living.

Anyhow, they propose to show "growth" of the economy by manipulating the national bookkeeping system. They will, if they have their way, manufacture dollars for the government to spend and thus show "growth." It is a piece of legerdemain worthy of the Soviet leaders.

IT IS INTERESTING to note that the same brand of politico-economists sang a different tune in the 1930's, during the Great Depression. Then they spoke of our having reached the "matured economy" —we had arrived at the limit of our productive capacity, there were no more "frontiers" to conquer, and the business of the government was to distribute this bounty. That the New Deal proceeded to do. So that, just as "matured economy" was the excuse for government spending and intervening in the economy, so does "growth" serve the same purpose.

What, then, are the "growth" boys really after? To answer that question we must divide them into two classes, the politicians and their egghead economists. The politicians are not concerned with the economy; they are after votes. They hope to buy up, by promises of distributing largess, the votes of large blocs of something-for-nothing citizens. To them, any kind of economics that gets them elected is the right kind of economics. As for the professional economists who provide the politicians with words, their objective of "growth" is a socialized economy. They are all for a controlled economy, either because they believe in socialism or because they hope for jobs in the bureaucracy, or both. But, it is a certainty that if the "growth" boys succeed with their program, this country is in for a regime of socialism—or communism, if you wish.

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T.S. Matthews

A Bitter Self-Portrait of a 'Liberal'

WISCONSIN STATE COLLEGE
RIVER FALLS, WISCONSIN

By PUBLIUS

AGING T. S. MATTHEWS is a petulant "liberal," who has banished himself to London, married one of Hemingway's ex-wives and gone sour on an America that he damns as a land of "the 100 per-centers, the new rich Texans, the Madison Avenue boys (and) the dogs who eat dogs." Onetime editor of *Time*, he is now peddling in his forsaken homeland the story of his noble failure: *Name and Address* (Simon and Shuster; $4.50). In his self-pitying, spiteful memoirs, this conceited expatriate offers a self-portrait of a "liberal," and reveals a striking resemblance to Adlai Stevenson, the false alarm who cost Matthews his post as chief *Time*-server.

Tom Matthews was born in 1901 in tranquil Cincinnati, the only son of a well-to-do Episcopal clergyman and a Proctor heiress (of Proctor & Gamble). Like Adlai, young Tom seemingly had life beaten from the beginning; everything was his for the asking. But a serpent lurked in the parson's garden. "From my father," Matthews writes, "we learned to despise; from my mother, to be ashamed." His shame was for his family's inherited wealth. When he got to Princeton, after the usual succession of "good" schools, he salved his conscience by forming The Society for the Study of Socialism. Just as predictably, he styled himself a poet and formed a Tuesday Evening literary circle, confident in his *effete* bohemianism that the poet's life was farthest removed from his hated father's respectability. But rebellious Tom was a dilettante, whose verse admittedly had "only the passion of anger, bitterness and self-pity"—the same traits dominating his memoirs.

Of his undergraduate ambitions, Matthews writes: "I felt a growing determination . . . to make the successful people I envied and despised admit that I was as good as they were." But his ambition was aimless. To postpone the earning of money he didn't need, he packed himself off to jolly Oxford. Dank, tradition-encrusted New College seemed a perfect palace and infected him for life with Anglophilia. Is it odd that the Ivy-bred radical should embrace British snobbery? No, for Matthews' rebellion was not against the rule of gentlemen, but was directed instead at the vulgar fact that, in democratic America, literally anyone might make his mark. Matthews, like many a polished Pink, admired the masses at arm's length.

Everything—including a profession—came so easily to clever Tom that everything finally came to nothing. Fresh from Oxford and about to be married, he got a $40-a-week job on Herbert Croly's *New Republic*. He really ached to be a poet, he recalls, but not badly enough to write poetry. So, beginning as makeup editor and proof-reader he became a highbrow journalist, whose training-ground was not a grubby city room but the muted editorial sanctum inhabited by a coterie of talented, eccentric leftists, including Bruce Bliven, George Soule, Stark Young and Edmund Wilson. His memories of Wilson are wickedly malicious, revealing his inability to live with another's success.

A priggish Young Fogey, Matthews aped the elderly New Republicans and eagerly sought their approval. An obedient member of the "liberal" herd, he twitched his tail and stamped his hooves as others did. He loathed all the Bad People (such as "Red-baiting" Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer), loved all the Good People (Debs, Sacco and Vanzetti) and was "friendly to all sorts and conditions of radicals," including the Communists whom he innocently likened to a religious sect. To set himself apart from orthodoxy in every way, he discarded formal religion for an obscure egoist cult, thereby striking another blow at his father, then Bishop of New Jersey. Worth noting, however, is the fact that this rebellious, free spirit commuted daily to Manhattan from a house in Princeton that his parents had bought and given him.

WITH THE DEPARTURE of Croly, whose protege he had been, Matthews lost his place on the *New Republic* and faced a decision. Should he retire to a garret and write poetry? He did not. Still regarding himself as a poet, he walked with his eyes open into *Time*, then six years old, at the invitation of an old Princeton chum. Looking back to 1929, Matthews put *Time* down for a "strutting little venture," one of the least foul descriptions of the roost he long occupied. But he was not kidnapped by Henry Luce's white-slavers. Weak-willed, self-infatuated Tom Matthews walked in the door and stayed 24 years.

Beyond a brace of undistinguished novels, Matthews' claim to fame rests solely on his long tenure at *Time*, Inc. Yet, to hear him tell it, he hated every moment, from the first: "On every piece of copy, I could have written with truth, 'I do not like my work.'" But he remained, now moving steadily from book-reviewer to editor of all "back-of-the-book" departments to senior editor of policy-

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shaping National Affairs, the magazine's most important department. If he showed skill at office in-fighting, he lost none of what he calls his "complete political innocence." Now a mighty leader of the herd, he wept in his cocktails for Loyalist Spain and trembled for civilization as the dark night of fascism fell. Yet this urbane, impeccably educated journalist recalls no uneasiness about the Left, about the peculiar forms of "democracy" observed by Stalin, about the Hitler-Stalin pact that jolted naive Popular Fronters. Matthews was as responsive to the stimuli of the Left as the most childish consumer gulled by Madison Avenue.

His capacity for self-delusion was vast. In 1940, *old* Time *hands remember, the abiding purpose of Henry Luce's life was the election of Wendell Willkie, a purpose he successfully implanted in his National Affairs editor. Matthews convinced himself Willkie's victory was in the cards. As the last pre-election issue of* Time *closed, he sat at the copy desk, a lanky authority in shirtsleeves and bright suspenders, locked his hands behind his head and remarked expansively: "Well, I think we put it over."*

IF HE LACKED POLITICAL SAVVY, Matthews was a harsh, exacting prosemaster, who demanded the right word in precisely the right place. Staffers dubbed him "the Headmaster" for his effort to replace *Time's* jabberwocky style with the King's English. His unfailing attention to the surface glitter of style belied a scant acquaintance with the substance of life, a bewilderment that cries out in the closing chapters of *Name and Address.* Matthews was a highly talented sleep-walker, who somehow showed sufficient awareness and shrewdness to be named managing editor in 1943. But nothing of the tumult and drama of a nation at war, and a world in crisis, emerges from his bland memoirs. The Axis was crushed, a ravening Soviet power loomed, China was lost—and Matthews, a leading chronicler of the age, moved ahead, unaffected, amply confirming his self-appraisal: "I have lived among historical events without noticing them."

Matthews' most noteworthy omission is the encounter of Whittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss, a struggle that shook *Time* to its foundations. But if he passed unruffled through that crisis, Matthews was keenly alert to the coming of Adlai Stevenson. Elevated to editorship of *Time* three years earlier, he passed on all cover stories in 1952, and meant to do right by his old Princeton acquaintance whose egghead aphorisms and manner were so attractive. *Time's* first cover on Stevenson, in January, presented Illinois' reform governor as an able politician with long-shot chances of national office. That wasn't quite enough for Matthews, who detected in *Time,* if not in himself, a vicious bias. As the campaign heated up, he declares, "the distortions, suppressions and slanting of . . . political 'news' seemed to me to pass the bounds of politics and to commit an offense against the ethics of journalism."

That statement of uprightness slides neatly over Matthew's own years of "slanting," always leftward, and sets the stage for an attempted rescue of Stevenson that he fails to recount at length. In October, 1952, with Stevenson nominated, *Time* scheduled a second cover, to be written by experienced, tough-minded assistant managing editor Otto Feurbringer, now *Time's* managing editor. One of perhaps a half-dozen pro-Eisenhower editors among a staff of some fifty, Feurbringer wrote his cover story and passed it on to Matthews. In the latter's judgment, it was "a clumsy, but malign and murderously meant attack." To the delight of "liberal" staff members, Matthews mounted his white charger to save poor, defamed Adlai.

He rewrote Feurbringer's story from scratch and stood guard at the copy desk until the magazine had closed so that the ogres of the Right could not undo his handiwork.

The revolt of Tom Matthews succeeded, partly at least, for his pro-Adlai story ran and the other vanished without a trace. But, in the end, he proved nothing. *Time* gently and tactfully sent him on a wild goose chase (to study the possibilities of a British *Time*) and he resigned. Even if he had forced the break, it came much, much too late to convince anyone—especially himself—of his virtue.

Actually, his empty heroism may have been a disservice to the ethics of journalism. Bits and pieces of the original Stevenson story recalled by old *Time* staffers fall into a pattern that depicts Stevenson quite honestly, as a weak, facile pundit who did not truly understand America or the unique challenge she faced. But to Matthews, ever innocent, his hero was a high-minded "liberal" set upon by Philistines. It may be that, on that night in 1952, Matthews saw something of himself in the mirror held up to Stevenson, and destroyed the image rather than admit its truth.

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HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY ---

We should proclaim again and again that the road to free men and free enterprise and to progress and prosperity is not to be found in the spread of governmental power and bureaucracy, but in striving to set bounds to them.

HERBERT HOOVER

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Pensioned Bureaucrats Go On Relief

WISCONSIN STATE COLLEGE
RIVER FALLS, WISCONSIN

Unemployment Compensation Flows Freely Under Mitchell

By Raymond Moley

Among the many examples of waste and inefficiency in government operation which our able Comptroller General Campbell has uncovered is a strange distortion of the principle of unemployment benefits. He has reported to Congress that in 47 of our 50 states a retired Federal employee—after a lump-sum payment has been allowed—may also apply for unemployment compensation.

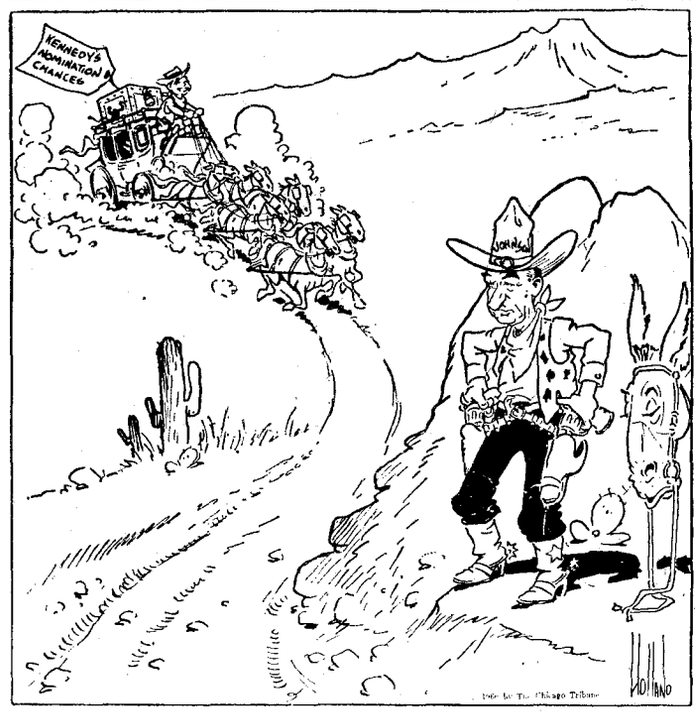
Secretary of Labor Mitchell is charged with the administration of unemployment compensation. The law which he administers provides for agreements between him and the states whereby state agencies, as agents of the United States, pay benefits to unemployed Federal workers in the same amount, on the same terms, and subject to the same conditions as payments made under the unemployment compensation laws of the states.

This treatment of retired Federal employees is a very special windfall. For in some states unemployment benefits are reduced when they are paid to retired employees of private industry who receive pensions. But in those states they are not reduced in the case of retired Federal employees.

Since 50,000 Federal employees retire every year, the amount of extra compensation thus secured is considerable. Moreover, as the years pass the number of Federal employees eligible for retirement and pensions will increase. The windfall will get larger. The average age of such retirees is 62½ years.

This age of retirement is somewhat astonishing when it is considered that medical experts point out that the life expectancy has already passed 70 and will by 1966 reach 80. Moreover, with the progress of medical science, the health of people past 60 is improving every year. Whether it is fair or not, in some private occupations competitive conditions are said to require rather early retirement. To give one example, advertising salesmen are regarded as past the point of efficiency at around 60. Moreover, in all private employment where there is competition the way must be opened for younger men and women who deserve promotion. But in government there is no such competitive stress. Working hours are not long, and vacations are provided. Anyone familiar with life among government bureaucrats knows that, aside from the eternal grousing about the boss, there is little or no stress. In private business the company is fighting for its life. The government has assured immortality and income.

THE BIG STAGE ROBBERY?



Why age 62½ has been selected as a date for retirement is a mystery.

This business of giving unemployment compensation to such retirees is a violation of the basic principle of the system. Unemployment compensation is said to be basically an insurance program. It is to tide a worker over during a period of involuntary unemployment. In short, as the Secretary of Labor has interpreted it, it is compensation where there is no job to be had. This principle does not apply to retired government employees. They are not unemployed because they cannot find work.

It should be remembered that, aside from this windfall, the retiring government employee is treated very well. When he decides to retire and makes application for a pension which is honored, he also receives a lump-sum of severance pay.

There are many government employees who seek and get retirement and the benefits that go with it who also have in mind remunerative private employment in which they can spend some of the most productive years of their life. Private industry may have need of their special skills and, in the case of high military and civil employees, there is prestige to sell. And now those who have neither skill nor prestige can get unemployment compensation. All at the expense of the taxpayer.

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Dollar Surplus Fuels Inflation

By Congressman N. M. Mason

The imminent danger of inflation hangs over the head of every taxpayer. Yet inflation is a subject few people understand. What is the cause of inflation? The simple answer is "a surplus of dollars and a shortage of goods meeting in the market place." Stated in a different way—"Too many dollars bidding for too few goods in the market place make prices rise." That is inflation. To stop it we must reduce the dollars available or increase the amount of goods available.

It doesn't make any difference who has the dollars to spend—whether the government or the people. When the government takes dollars away from the people in taxes, the people have fewer dollars to spend and the government more. But whether it is a government dollar or a consumer dollar that is spent in the market place, its effect upon prices is exactly the same.

Some people say heavy taxes are a cure for inflation and tax reduction will cause inflation. This is not so. We raised Federal taxes from $5 billion in 1940 to $78 billion in 1954. Yet during those years we had our greatest period of inflation. In 1954 we reduced the Federal tax load $7.4 billion. Not until the fall of 1956 was there any sign of inflation. These two illustrations give the lie to those economists who claim that taxes can cure or cause inflation.

National Debt Costs $9.5 Billion A Year

From the Duluth Publicity

The fastest growing item in the national budget is the interest the Government must pay on the national debt. Interest will cost the taxpayers more than $9,500,000,000 in the 1961 fiscal year, as of July 1, 1960, or nearly one-eighth of all budget outlays. It is the second biggest cost item, topped only by national defense.

But this is an election year and the vote-bait of candidates is "we must spend more, more, more."

Dean Fischer Opposes 'Civic Center' Schools

From the New York Daily News

By Dr. John H. Fischer, new dean of Teachers College, Columbia University, in a speech on what ails the public schools:

"Not only has the school been asked to offer more kinds of instruction for pupils. It is expected also to be a center for entertainment, civic development, charitable enterprises and other more or less good works which, although they are conducted under the school's roof and in its stadium, can hardly be called educational."

Reuther Trips Up Reuther In Attacking Auto Industry

From the Chicago Tribune

Walter Reuther's latest salvo against the automobile makers is to accuse them of planning to step up production this fall, create an exaggerated impression of prosperity, and thus help the Republicans in the election. The companies have replied that the charge is irresponsible nonsense, that their fall production schedules are based only on expected sales, and that no sane management would risk so expensive a political gamble.

This is a logical reply, but the most convincing evidence of Mr. Reuther's demagoguery is in his own words. He said that the present situation "seems to present a tragic parallel with that of 1954," when, he said, fall production was stepped up because of the congressional election.

The record of 1954 tells a quite different story. Production was particularly low in the early fall. It picked up slightly in October, but there was no real spurt until after the election, when the companies had retooled for their 1955 models.

Nevertheless, Mr. Reuther says that they deliberately stepped up production and that the "day of reckoning" came in 1956, bringing lower sales and layoffs. The long interval between this alleged cause and effect represented the biggest year in automobile history. Any increase in production in the fall of 1954 was amply justified by demand and was dwarfed in the succeeding months. To attribute the decline in 1956 to the activity at the end of 1954 is absurd.

And how, finally, did Mr. Reuther feel at the time about this allegedly intentional overproduction? His most publicized complaint during the pre-election months was against Secretary Wilson's reference to "bird dogs." The following January, he did have some comments about production. But not about overproduction. On the contrary, he said that the companies had underproduced during 1954, and that with full use of their facilities they could have turned out from 9 to 11 million cars instead of only 5 million.

In view of the startling disagreement between Mr. Reuther of 1954-55 and Mr. Reuther of 1960, it is hard to take either one of them very seriously.

Will Congress Probe California's Gnats?

From the Indianapolis News

The federal planners never show a lack of imagination when it comes to thinking up new programs.

A study of "environmental health activities" will take $2,290,000 of federal tax money this year, and the field has all sorts of possibilities of becoming a glorious catch-all that will take more and more money as years go by.

For example, a California congressman already has suggested that $65,000 of this year's fund should be used to investigate the "swarms of gnats" at Clear Lake, California.

Kennedy Visits Harvard, Jack Paar While Senate Holds Busiest Session

From the Cleveland Plain Dealer

Senator Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) has sent a letter to Senator John F. Kennedy (D.-Mass.) in which he informed his colleague about what the Senate did in a recent 14-hour Thursday session while Kennedy was attending a class reunion at Harvard and appearing on the Jack Paar show.

"Thursday was a big day here, back at Lyndon's other ranch," Scott wrote, in part. "I am sure you will appreciate this note because it indicates that we in the Senate took very seriously the lecture you had delivered to us only two days before on the importance of leadership . . . ."

Scott then related how the Senate had responded to "the long arm of your leadership, reaching all the way from Cambridge, Massachusetts," by passing the $40,500,000,000 defense appropriation bill, approving a constitutional amendment to give the citizens of the District of Columbia the right to vote for President and by passing the one-and-a-quarter billion dollar housing bill, all matters in which Kennedy was interested.

Scott said that some Senators had made sacrifices to attend the 14-hour-long session, including one who declined an honorary degree in order to be present, adding, "We want you to know, Jack, that we were glad to make these sacrifices . . . you would have been proud of us."

"Since I did not see you around on Friday, either," Scott concluded, "perhaps I'll get a chance later to report to you about the debate on the federal and postal employes pay raise bill. Well, we don't want to bore you, Jack. If you have time, drop in and, if not, just send one of the other Kennedys down."

Running for President has become a popular pastime in the Senate, but there may be such a thing as running too hard and too far away from the scene of action.

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Social Security Isn't 'Paid For'

By Congressman Bruce Alger

A lot of arguments and misunderstandings about Social Security, I think, stem from the widely held belief that those drawing benefits "paid for" them during their working years, or that present workers are today contributing enough to finance their own benefits when they retire. This simply is not so, and never has been so.

Some examples: (Case No. 1) An employee who, together with his employer, had paid in the maximum amount possible in Social Security taxes from the time the program began in 1937 until the first of this year has paid a total of $2,292. If he retires this year when he and his wife both reach 65, he'll start drawing an annuity worth $31,200! Compare that with the $2,292 figure, the most *anyone* can have paid into the program to date.

(Case No. 2) An individual qualifying for a minimum benefit on January 1, 1960, could have paid in, with his employer, as little as $36 and could draw benefits expected to amount to $8,600. Who pays? Future generations, not the beneficiaries. How? By a gross tax starting with the first dollar earned, hardest on the lowest incomes—no deductions allowed. The Social Security tax for most will exceed income tax.

(Case No. 3) A farmer with net income in 1957, from self-employment, of $4,200 with a wife and two children and standard deductions would pay $276 income tax and $283.50 social security tax—with three children: income tax $156, social security tax $283.50. Still the program will be in the hole. Today, present beneficiaries will draw $65 billion more than they have paid in. The cost of present contributors, as future beneficiaries, is unfunded to the amount of $300 billion to $600 billion.

How high should taxes be raised to make the program sound? No one knows —but surely it is a study worthy of our attention. Otherwise, the program may collapse or be voted out by hard pressed taxpayers of the future. Instead, we continue to add unfinanced new benefits every election year.

The US Would Rather Be Safe -- and Sorry

By Professor Franklin Patterson, Tufts University

For the past decade or more, we adult Americans have tended to play it safe and comfortably while the reins of history have slipped through our listless fingers. Our chief commandment, it sometimes seems, has been "Thou shalt not stick thy neck out." We have become the world's greatest waistline-watching consumers. We have pursued the cult of the nice guy with our horizons fairly limited to the front bumpers and rear tail fins of our gilded chariots. How can we chide youth if they learn our lessons of timidity, purposelessness and self-indulgence?

Rocky Is More 'Socially-Minded'

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

The left-wing Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have endorsed Nelson Rockefeller for President. The union's recent Miami Beach convention declared Rockefeller as more "socially-minded" than any other potential candidate, including Messrs. Humphrey, Kennedy and Stevenson.

The union paid little attention to Rockefeller's pronouncements on foreign policy (which have been strongly anti-Communist) but came up with a few recommendations of its own.

These included diplomatic recognition of Red China and an immediate ban on nuclear weapons. In addition, the union's 1,200 delegates unanimously condemned President Eisenhower for his "incredibly inept" handling of the U-2 incident, which handed "Khrushchev a made-to-order excuse for his actions."

NLRB Fines Manufacturer For Going Out of Business

From the Arizona Republic

There was a time, before Government granted labor unions their present monopoly position, when the right to go out of business was taken more or less for granted. This, however, is no longer the case: In a startling decision recently handed down by the National Labor Relations Board, that right was virtually denied to a New Jersey company.

The Bonnie Lass case, as it has come to be known, involved a fabricating company engaged in the manufacture of sweaters. In June, 1958, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union sought recognition among the plant's 100 employees. The following month, 50 workers went out on strike. In December of that year, the employers decided to go out of business, and they subsequently ceased their manufacturing operation and sold their equipment and machinery. (Later, the employers decided to go into an altogether different business, buying and marketing the products of various mills, a business which required only three full-time employees.)

The NLRB ruled the shutdown was illegal, because—it said—it was done to avoid dealing with the union. Therefore, Bonnie Lass had to reimburse the employees "by paying to each of them a sum of money equal to the amount he or she would normally have earned as wages from December 15, 1958, until such time as each secured or did secure substantially equivalent employment with other employers."

What this means is that the defunct company would be liable to pay its former employees' wages for the rest of their lives in the event they were unable to obtain new employment. And if they did obtain new jobs at lower pay than that which they earned with Bonnie Lass, the company presumably would be required to make up the difference indefinitely. Nor is that all. If an employee were later laid off, after having obtained employment with another employer, he would apparently—according to the language of the Board—be entitled to back pay from Bonnie Lass for the duration of the unemployment.

The Board's decision not only is unprecedented, but it directly contradicts previous NLRB rulings. In other cases, the Board ruled only that former workers be placed on a preferential hiring list, in the event the company ever resumed operation. And in one case, where the Board found that a company discriminately shut down to avoid bargaining with a union, the Board rejected a recommendation that the employer pay back wages until equivalent employment was obtained, and instead awarded back pay only to the time when the plant closed. Earlier, a Federal court of appeals had upheld a similar Board decision, and further observed: "But none of this can be taken to mean that an employer does not have the absolute right—to permanently close and go out of business—for whatever reason he may choose, whether union animosity or anything else. No more can the (Taft-Hartley) act be said to contain any basis to assess remedial back pay beyond the date of this permanent closing."

If the NLRB ruling is upheld, it not only will mark an extreme departure from previous decisions, but it will also signal a departure from common sense. For if the Board can prohibit an employer from quitting business, it is just a matter of time before it can prohibit a worker from quitting his job, or from going on strike. If the United States is to face successfully the enormous economic challenges of the future, it must be as free as possible from bureaucratic restriction. And the Board ruling is nothing more than an unjust restriction which seriously infringes upon not only the rights of the Bonnie Lass employers, but upon the rights of all individuals.

—o—

Democratic convention theme song: "I'm just Wild Without Harry."

—Fletcher Knebel

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Kennedy Races to the Wire As Labor's No. 1 Candidate

By N. R. Howard in the Cleveland Plain Dealer

Imminent probability of the nomination of Senator John Kennedy for President by the Democratic convention brings into any analysis of him (of which this is a third installment) the party's proximity in 1960 to a national labor party. For, of all the Presidential possibilities, he is the darling in Congress of the labor unions, and they will delight to support him as no candidate since FDR.

In this and the last session of Congress, Kennedy was scored 100% perfect by AFL-CIO tabulators on their key issues. This, despite his final vote for the Landrum-Griffin law in 1959 to limit labor union excesses and his signing of the McClellan committee report last year on the union frauds, thefts and depredations. Accounting for these, Kennedy went before mildly hostile labor union convocations and explained his acts, and was mildly applauded.

"Best We Could Do"

Kennedy has spent months attempting to head off, delay, and amend the labor management law; his accounting for it was, "It was the best we could do." Of the McClellan report, he expressed regret that a "vast majority" of union officers and members had to be indirectly indicted for the crimes of the comparative few. His younger brother was the "prosecution" for the McClellan committee. As far as it is known, the brothers never materially disagreed about the committee's adventures and discoveries.

On these two acts, Kennedy has pitched an appeal that he has been friendly and understanding to labor without accepting any "dictation" from labor politicians. Why then is AFL-CIO so fond of him? Because he regularly supports the expensive socialist-paternalist programs their leaders evolve, and because he is the most rapid and ready to defend or congratulate unions on the Senate floor. And perhaps because he is young and Irish and handsome and a bearcat for a fight on any "social" issue.

Bucked Taft-Hartley Injunction

Before the Democratic organization of Cleveland in 1958, Kennedy called for increases in unemployment compensation everywhere. Late last year, he opened a serial speaking attack on the Eisenhower administration for alleged favoritism to the steel companies in the long steel strike, culminating in a protest against invoking Taft-Hartley to get the workers back for 80 days.

When this congressional session opened in January with prospects of the strike's being resumed, Kennedy on the first day tossed into the hopper a resolution for congressional inquiry into causes of the shutdown.

He was reported to have up his sleeve, for the proper moment, a bill which would take a long step toward nationalizing the steel industry. (It would hardly have passed.)

Then Vice President Nixon settled the strike single handed, and Kennedy's further steel politics was abated. But the United Steel Workers are hotly in the Kennedy van in this campaign.

So is Roy Reuther, brother of Walter, the UAW head (promised to his friend Governor Mennen Williams on the first ballot). Roy has been at work in Washington and elsewhere seeking Kennedy votes from other candidates' delegates.

The only big union leader against Kennedy is James Hoffa, the singed-cat leader of the Teamsters. Kennedy has called Hoffa and his pals "crooks" and Hoffa has reciprocated.

It is more than possible that, as a candidate, Kennedy will go before the voters both as a champion of the rights of unionized labor and the Fearless Frank Merriwell who can induce the unions to get into line and cooperate. This would be some combination achievement, indeed.

The guess is a reflection of the strong anti-union opinions of Joseph P. Kennedy, the Senator's father, as well as of the Senator's youthful confidence that he can execute many great achievements not in the powers of the "old tired men" against whom he orates; these men do not include his millionaire father.

With Kennedy and Nixon the Presidential candidates, it could well happen that this year's campaign would be found out finally on labor issue lines. The Eisenhower regime has slowed up and to some extent policed the onward march of the labor unions. With another Roosevelt or Truman, the labor political lords would throw their toughest and best sinews into the fight (as they did for Truman, but not Stevenson). It could prove Kennedy's greatest political strength and weakness combined.

Oops! More Jack, Jack

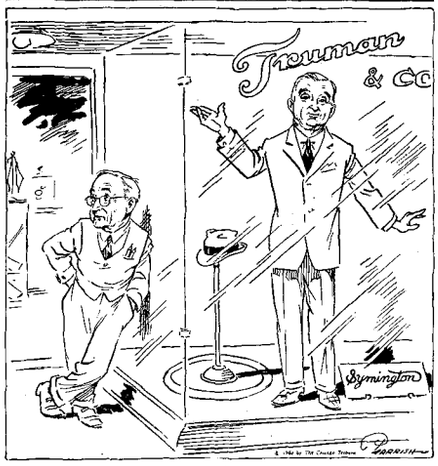
From Battle Line

In Battle Line 48, June 25, 1960, it was incorrectly stated that Jack Kennedy's father is worth $250,000,000.

Actually Kennedy Sr. is worth $400,000,000.

Battle Line expresses its regrets to the Kennedys.

RUSH HOUR



Johnson: Still A Long Shot

By Ted Lewis

Johnson's chances are still of the long shot variety.

But if the unexpected happens and Lyndon wins the nomination, the campaign could certainly be a fantastic emotion-charged affair.

His home-state political spellbinding is something to behold—waving of the flag, references to "My daddy," and the political advice he received on his father's knee, and other homey touches about his wife, Lady Bird, and family life.

Something New

Running against a Republican would be something new for Johnson. All of his Texas campaigns were those of heated, bitter primary contests where the winner of the party's nomination was assured of election.

His flamboyant political oratory, with its tear-jerking sentimentality, goes over big in Texas, but it might be different in Brooklyn and South Chicago.

A Presidential battle between Johnson and Vice President Nixon would be one pitting two opposites. Nixon is an adept campaigner, master of the cool, calculated understatement, and easily one of the most skillful television speakers of our time. Johnson, the TV amateur (he shuns every TV appearance possible), is an emotional speaker who needs a sympathetic, cheering crowd to be most effective.

A Joke On Lyndon

Several years ago Senator Kennedy convulsed an audience here with a story about those with White House hopes, including Lyndon.

Kennedy told of a dream which featured a divine revelation that he was to become President. He confided the dream to Stuart Symington, who said he, too, had had a dream in which God told him he was destined for the White House.

Kennedy and Symington then happened on Johnson. They told the party leader of their conflicting dreams.

"Strange," murmured Johnson, "I also had a dream last night, but I don't remember talking to either one of you."

As Moscow Sees It

From Battle Line

From the text of a TASS report, in English, sent from Moscow to Europe on June 15, 1960:

"Stevenson's and Kennedy's chances are especially high now. Heeding the mood of the US electorate, Stevenson and Kennedy have criticized US foreign policy not only formally, as some other Democratic candidates have done, but in a number of cases, on its merits as well. Stevenson and Kennedy advocate an improvement in relations with the Soviet Union and in the international climate."

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